

Message Text

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TO ALL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS PRIORITY

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INFORM CONSULS

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: SHUM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY SECRETARY'S OPENING REMARKS BEFORE
HUMPHREY SUBCOMMITTEE, MARCH 7, 1977

1. THIS CABLE GIVES THE TEXT OF DEPUTY SECRETARY'S
OPENING REMARKS FOR HIS APPEARANCE BEFORE SENATOR
HUMPHREY'S SUBCOMMITTEE RE HUMAN RIGHTS. TEXT IS EMBARGOED
UNTIL 11:00 A.M., MARCH 7, WASHINGTON TIME. QUOTE:

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO TESTIFY.

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I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE TODAY TO AFFIRM THIS ADMINISTRA-
TION'S COMMITMENT TO MAKING HUMAN RIGHTS AN IMPORTANT
CONCERN OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. PRESIDENT CARTER
BEGAN THIS ADMINISTRATION WITH THE INAUGURAL PLEDGE THAT
"BECAUSE WE ARE FREE, WE CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THE
FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE." THEN, IN HIS CONFIRMATION
HEARINGS, SECRETARY VANCE STATED THAT "WE MUST HAVE POLICIES
BASED ON FUNDAMENTAL VALUES. IN PARTICULAR, WE MUST STAND
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS."

THE CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE WOVEN INTO THE FABRIC OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. IF WE ARE TO DO JUSTICE TO OUR GOALS, WE MUST ACT ALWAYS WITH A CONCERN TO ACHIEVE

PRACTICAL RESULTS, AND WITH AN AWARENESS OF THE OTHER DEMANDS ON OUR DIPLOMACY. WHEN IT IS DESIRABLE TO DO SO, WE WILL SPEAK OUT, TRYING TO BE NEITHER STRIDENT NOR POLEMICAL. THIS IS NOT A ONE-WAY STREET, AND WE MUST EXPECT THAT AT TIMES OTHERS MAY CRITICIZE US. WE MAY DECIDE TO COMMUNICATE BY QUIET DIPLOMACY WITH THE COUNTRY INVOLVED TO SEE WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THAT WAY. OR WE MAY PREFER TO APPROACH THE PROBLEM NOT BILATERALLY, BUT THROUGH MULTILATERAL CHANNELS. IN SOME INSTANCES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS MAY BE CURTAILED, BUT WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT TO BE EVEN-HANDED, WE SHOULD NOT JUST PENALIZE BUT ALSO INSPIRE, PERSUADE, AND REWARD.

ALREADY, OUR COMMITMENT HAS PROMPTED DEFINITE ACTIONS. IN PURSUIT OF THE GOAL OF MAJORITY RULE AND EQUAL RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, WE HAVE URGED THE CONGRESS TO REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT. THE STATE DEPARTMENT EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR THE FATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, AND PRESIDENT CARTER WROTE TO NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER ANDREI SAKHAROV TO CONVEY DIRECTLY OUR HOPES FOR THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. AS PART OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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A CONTINUING REVIEW PROCESS, WE DECIDED TO CUT THE LEVEL OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO SEVERAL COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. WE WILL BE INSTRUCTING OUR EMBASSIES TO PRESS THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH PRIVATE CONTACTS. WE ARE PLAYING AN ACTIVE PART IN THE WORK OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

AS AN EXAMPLE OF OUR HUMANITARIAN CONCERN FOR THE UPROOTED AND DISPOSSESSED, I WOULD OBSERVE THAT DURING FISCAL YEAR 1976 OUR GOVERNMENT HAS EXPENDED SOME 475 MILLION DOLLARS ON ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES ON A WORLD-WIDE BASIS, AND THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTED 31,000 REFUGEES FOR PERMANENT RESETTLEMENT IN THIS COUNTRY. WE ARE, OF COURSE, CONTINUING OUR GENEROUS ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES IN THE CURRENT YEAR.

WE KNOW THAT THE CONGRESS SHARES THIS COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, AND DESERVES SPECIAL CREDIT FOR ITS ATTENTION TO THIS ISSUE IN RECENT YEARS.

THE COMPLEXITY OF THE CHALLENGE COMPELS COLLABORATION BETWEEN US. BY WORKING TOGETHER MORE CLOSELY AND EFFECTIVELY WE CAN RESTORE CONFIDENCE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD

IN OUR UNDERTAKING TO ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.
THE ADMINISTRATION, AS WELL AS THE CONGRESS, MUST REFLECT
IN OUR POLICIES THE VALUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE RECOGNIZE THAT THESE FIRST STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN ARE JUST
THAT. CHANGE TAKES TIME--AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE EVOLUTION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN OUR OWN COUNTRY: FROM RELIGIOUS
FREEDOM THROUGH THE BILL OF RIGHTS, THE ABOLITION OF
SLAVERY, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, THE FOUR FREEDOMS, THE
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
POVERTY TO THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. IT IS A LONG, HARD
CLIMB. BUT THE COURSE IS FIRMLY SET.

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THERE SHOULD BE NO MISTAKE--THE UNDERTAKING TO PROMOTE
HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOW AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.
WE KNOW THAT DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR OUR POLICIES WILL FALTER
IF THEY DO NOT REFLECT TRADITIONAL AMERICAN VALUES. BUT I
WANT IT TO BE CLEAR THAT THIS IS NOT A POLICY OF CONVEN-
IENCE, ADOPTED BECAUSE OF ITS POPULARITY AT HOME. A
COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTS THE DOMESTIC VITALITY
OF THESE VALUES, KEEPING CLEAR OUR IMAGE OF OURSELVES
AND ENCOURAGING US TO MAKE THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WORK.
IT HELPS US TO MAINTAIN LEADERSHIP OF THE FREE SOCIETIES
THAT SHARE SIMILAR VALUES. AND IT SERVES AS A POLE OF
ATTRACTION TO OTHER STATES AND PEOPLES.

THE QUESTION IS NEITHER THE DIRECTION NOR THE STRENGTH OF
OUR COMMITMENT. THE QUESTION WE MUST ANSWER IS HOW TO
SUMMON THE STATESMANSHIP AND THE MORAL COURAGE TO DEAL
WITH THE PRACTICAL DILEMMAS AND COMPLEXITIES IN PRO-
MOTING HUMAN RIGHTS IN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS. TODAY I
WANT TO DISCUSS BRIEFLY THE COMPLEXITIES IN LINKING HUMAN
RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS TO ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE.

THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES A WIDE RANGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
AND BELIEVES ALL MUST BE PROMOTED. OUR MOST CONCENTRATED
AREAS OF CONCERN HAVE BEEN VIOLATIONS OF THE INTEGRITY
OF THE PERSON--OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED MURDERS, TORTURES
OR DETENTIONS WITHOUT TRIAL. THESE, OF COURSE, ARE AREAS
EMPHASIZED BY THE LEGISLATION YOU APPROVED. POLITICAL
RIGHTS AND CIVIL PROTECTION ARE ALSO ACCORDED HIGH
PRIORITY.

AT TIMES IT IS INEVITABLE THAT THESE CONCERNS WILL CON-
FLICT WITH OUR COMMITMENT TO THE GOAL OF ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT. AS SECRETARY VANCE HAS STATED, ONE OF OUR
FUNDAMENTAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IS "TO DEMONSTRATE
AMERICA'S COMPASSION FOR THE POOR AND THE DISPOSSESSED
AROUND THE WORLD--THAT IS THOSE, WHO THROUGH NO FAULT OF

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THEIR OWN, ARE EXPOSED DAILY TO SUFFERING AND HUMILIATION
AND ARE STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE."

OTHER CONFLICTS IN POLICY MAY ARISE WHEN THE SECURITY OF
THE UNITED STATES IS LINKED TO THAT OF A COUNTRY WHOSE
HUMAN RIGHTS PRIORITIES ARE DEFICIENT. IT SHOULD BE UPPER-
MOST IN OUR MINDS THAT SECURITY ASSISTANCE IS RENDERED
TO MAINTAIN OR ENHANCE OUR OWN SECURITY, NOT TO STRENGTHEN
THE HAND OF A REPRESSIVE REGIME, ALTHOUGH WE MUST FACE UP
TO THAT AS AN UNDESIRE AND UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCE IN
CERTAIN CASES.

WE ARE WORKING TO FULFILL BOTH THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT
OF CURRENT LEGISLATION RELATING HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS TO
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. WE CAN BEST ACHIEVE THIS PURPOSE
THROUGH CONSCIENTIOUS AND SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF ASSISTANCE
PROGRAMS ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS, IN EACH CASE
BALANCING A POLITICAL CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST
ECONOMIC OR SECURITY GOALS. IN MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT
BANKS THE UNITED STATES MUST WORK TO MAINTAIN A BROAD
INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS AND TO AVOID DESTRUCTIVE BLOC
POLITICS THAT WOULD IMPAIR THE PURSUIT OF THE BANKS'
DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES. NO FORMULA CAN RESOLVE THE
LARGER CONFLICTS OF THESE POSITIONS, BUT PRUDENT AND
DEDICATED ATTENTION TO BOTH THE BASIC OBJECTIVES AND
THE DAY-TO-DAY OPERATIONS OF OUR PROGRAMS CAN MAKE
SPECIFIC PROBLEMS MORE TRACTABLE.

WE HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING A SERIES OF QUESTIONS BY WHICH
TO CHART THE DIRECTION OF OUR POLICY AND OUR PROGRESS.
TAKEN TOGETHER AS POINTS OF REFERENCE, THEY WILL MAKE US
Surer OF OUR BASIC COURSE AND LESS LIKELY TO BE DRIVEN
FROM IT BY THE FORCE OF A PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCE. THE
QUESTIONS WE ARE CONSIDERING INCLUDE:

1. WILL OUR ACTION BE USEFUL IN PROMOTING THE CAUSE OF
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HUMAN RIGHTS? WILL IT ACTUALLY IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS
SITUATION AT HAND? OR IS IT LIKELY TO MAKE IT WORSE?

2. WHAT WILL BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF EXPRESSING
OUR VIEWS? QUIET DIPLOMACY? A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT?
WITHDRAWAL OF AID OR OTHER TANGIBLE SANCTIONS?

3. EVEN WHEN THERE IS ONLY A REMOTE CHANCE THAT OUR

ACTION WILL BE INFLUENTIAL, DOES OUR SENSE OF VALUES,
OUR AMERICAN ETHIC, PROMPT US TO SPEAK OUT OR TAKE
ACTION?

4. WILL OTHERS SUPPORT US? CAN WE EXPECT THE AID OF
NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DEDICATED TO
FURTHERING HUMAN RIGHTS?

5. HAVE WE STEERED AWAY FROM THE SELF-RIGHTEOUS AND STRI-
DENT, REMEMBERING THAT OUR OWN RECORD IS NOT UNBLEMISHED?

6. FINALLY, HAVE WE REMEMBERED NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS
AND KEPT OUR SENSE OF PERSPECTIVE, REALIZING THAT HUMAN
RIGHTS CANNOT FLOURISH IN A WORLD IMPOVERISHED BY ECONOMIC
DECLINE OR RAVAGED BY ARMED CONFLICT?

THE ADMINISTRATION ALONE CANNOT TAKE ALL THE ACTIONS THAT
SHOULD BE PART OF THIS GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF
HUMAN RIGHTS. THE CONGRESS HAS A UNIQUE ROLE TO PLAY BY
REFLECTING PUBLIC CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE LAWS IT
PASSES AND MONITORING THEIR IMPLEMENTATION, BY FORMING
AND FUNDING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, AND BY ASSURING THAT OUR
DOMESTIC LAW IS IN CONFORMITY WITH OUR INTERNATIONAL
OBLIGATIONS.

WE URGE THAT YOU JOIN US IN GIVING PRESENT LEGISLATION WITH
HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS A CHANCE TO WORK, AND THAT WE
CAREFULLY CONSIDER TOGETHER ANY NEW LEGISLATION.

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AS A MATTER OF ESPECIALLY HIGH PRIORITY, WE ALSO URGE YOUR
SUPPORT FOR REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT.

THE FIRST WEEKS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN A
TIME OF CHANGE AND, WE BELIEVE, A TIME OF RENEWED HOPE
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE BELIEVE OUR
GENERAL EMPHASIS ON THIS IMPORTANT AREA OF INTERNATIONAL
CONCERN HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPACT.
LAST WEEK, IN A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT, THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT DECLARED A POLICY COMPARABLE TO THAT OF
THIS ADMINISTRATION. WE HOPE OTHER GOVERNMENTS WILL BOTH
SPEAK OUT IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND PURSUE HUMAN
RIGHTS OBJECTIVES THROUGH THEIR DIPLOMACY.

IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, IMPORTANT SEGMENTS OF THE
POPULATION HAVE BEEN STIRRED TO RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES
INTERNALLY. AND IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, GOVERNMENTS HAVE
TAKEN POSITIVE STEPS, SUCH AS THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL
PRISONERS, WHICH DEMONSTRATE THAT THE VOICE OF THIS
ADMINISTRATION IS BEING HEARD AND LISTENED TO. THIS
REACTION ENCOURAGES US ALONG THE PATH WE HAVE SET.

I NOW LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS.
UNQUOTE.
CHRISTOPHER

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